/1047 cont./

195 776 or kúpa. Compare BD:210, 211. This replaces the name, but is clear to everyone who hears it. Calderon and other men regard this substitution as "palabra política," as a wisely calculated way of speaking, outwardly mild but actually perfectly clear and full of meaning, somewhat like a key symbol in cryptography. Out of respect they avoid addressing the Supreme Being with the customary names as much as possible. Moreover, they do not wish to [765] hurt openly a person who is in mourning and who, if one of the customary designations were used, would be publicly shamed or reminded of the fact that the death just mentioned was sent as a punishment by Watauinéiwa. The nature of the conversation and the particular circumstances of an utterance safely prevent a misunderstanding of the circumlocution on the part of the persons present.

β. His Characteristics

776 The above names and the prayer formulas familiar to the Yamana both contribute their share to form a complete picture of the Supreme Being's uniqueness as it lives in the soul of these Fuegians. At first glance we recognize Watauinéiwa as an independent personality who is clearly distinguished from other beings of all kinds and, far removed from them, is completely independent. Watauinéiwa is a being apart; his whole nature is different from that of the other spirit-beings and even more from that of all human beings.

/1048/ We have already referred to his spirituality. For the concept "spirit" the Yamana use késpix. To them Watauinéiwa is the very great késpix who is properly, and more than other spirit-beings, a spirit in the real sense of the word. As such he is invisible and thus cannot be seen by human eyes. Repeatedly someone flies into a rage because Watauinéiwa has caused the death of a near relative, and he would like to confront him directly, but as késpix that one is inaccessible to any human being. Since he is incorporeal, no one has a perceptual idea of his person. I was emphatically told: "He does not have the body which every Yamana has down here [on earth]; he also does not die, as each

/1062 cont./

782 539 for us, as he has these days. Our father will also protect these two Whites. For this, thanks be to thee, my father!

Just a reference to a few words which are also given in BD. BD:154 gives sönnakĭta, "solitary, lonely, secluded" /cited in English/. BD:152 gives: sabagŭdĭa, "to lie down happily, to lie down in peace, to be or live happily" /cited in English/. BD:281 explains laša, instead of lĕša given above, as, among other things: "shelving rocks with large spaces between them" /cited in English/, which is true of the coast at Puerto Mejillones. BD:177 mentions kŏgurāiŭa, "to be impatient to get" /cited in English/. BD:181 gives kömausteka, "to go, or come up in order to take care of" /cited in English/. The word ketégede is the same as kategata in BD:170.

It is surprising, to mention this again, that our Fuegians have created definite formulas of sincere thanksgiving for various occasions and that they often address these to their Supreme Being to pay their debt of gratitude to him.

δ. Laments

●765 152 The formulas with which bereaved persons filled with grief pour out their hearts and with which /1063/ people also unburden their souls of other forms of sorrow are more numerous and varied. In such situations they show their very human and altogether sensitive natures which they never before revealed to a European as ~~openly as they never before revealed to a European as~~ openly as they did to me on the occasion of a large funeral ceremony or on a few other occasions. Besides the laments given here, the people of former times had a larger number which must be regarded as hopelessly lost. I was assured of this several times. 765 539 The prayers follow here in a rather free order, beginning with those that are actual expressions of mourning.

(1) Hitapŭan, kĕmudźkun hăja ka-kŭpa
My father, why indeed me from above

tutumeyuwakźte.
punished.

/1063 cont./

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With loud cries and heart-rending sobs these words are repeated by women whose children have been allowed to die by Wataŭinéiwa. Each of them regards the loss of a child as a personal punishment. -- Anita who lost all her children without exception often speaks these words, according to her intimate friends, Nelly and Adelheid. The word kémudékun is the same as kómūdūa in BD:172: "what's the matter? what do you want?" /cited in English./ BD:564 gives tūtūmēiūa, "to punish, illtreat, correct by punishing" /cited in English/.

(2) Annūéčía hája úla kúpa
Quare /why/ me sponte /freely/ desuper /from above/

tutumeyuwandéa Hitapúan,
castigavisti /punished/ mi pater /my father/,

tálauwāja.
tálauwāja /translated from Latin; see p. 993 /.

Again a woman laments: Why did you punish me by letting my child die? -- BD:25 writes annūóčia. The word tálauwāja, frequently also talauwáia, serves here as an exclamation of emphasis, somewhat in the sense of: Great is my sorrow, I am completely crushed, thus I cry, full of sorrow. BD:389 also gives the word tellaaja, "being mourners or in mourning for the dead" /cited in English/. In this position and combination it corresponds to our "Woe!" Compare also the data on p. 1079.

(3) Kénjúičía hája kúpa matauuwéxmutákude;
Therefore me from above helped;

kítu kúpa tstumínatupuwičía
he himself from above again take away

Wataŭinéiwa-sef úpaj.
the old-one-in-heaven therewith.

A grieving mother realizes her plight and says: The-one-up-there seemed to be particularly benevolent to me; in reality, however,

/1063 cont./

765 539 he helped me to have a child with the intention of letting it die and causing me great sorrow therewith. -- BD:307 gives matauuwōx or matauuwōštāgū, "to work with one another as companions" /cited in English/. From the use of this word one sees the Indians' idea that both the Supreme Being and the mother together help to produce a child. BD:494 gives tumína, "to pick up with or in the hands" /cited in English/. /1064/

(4) Kēnjūjičia hāia hixupa kičēxmutákude,
Therefore me the one-from-above afflicted,

tálauwāja.
alas.

Again the lament of a mother and father who have been punished by Wataųinēiwa with the loss of their child. -- The word kič-ēxmūt-aku-dē is derived from ōx-dātū in BD:50.

(5) Kēnjūjičia hāia ūla kūpa
Therefore me sponte /freely/ from above

kūrat, alakēxmutakilēra, Hitapūan.
gave, to take away again, my father.

Like the preceding formula, this also means: The Supreme Being gave the child to the parents with the intention of taking it away again soon and thus punish them.

(6) Kēnjūjičia hāia ūla kūpa
Therefore me sponte /freely/ from above

winānude, Hitapūan.
has dishonorably taken away, my father.

Here the Supreme Being is accused of a deceitful, false intent which the parents now in mourning did not realize earlier. -- BD:611 gives wīnana, "to betray, act treacherously, to trick" /cited in English/.

/1064 cont./

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(7) Ka-kúpa (hu)winánude hāija,
From above has deceptively taken away me,

tālauwāia, Watauinéiwa.
alas, Watauinéiwa.

This formula differs from the preceding one only in appearance. The meaning is the same in both inasmuch as Watauinéiwa is accused of consciously intending to deceive the parents to whom he gave a child.

(8) Kétakēn! ka-kúpa makaitúšude
Truly! the one-from-above let die

kalaiéxēden čiéxaus.
the old ones of the čiéxaus.

Alfredo, who was the leader of the first initiation that I experienced (p. 179 /untranslated/), was constantly depressed by the knowledge that only a very small number of his countrymen were still living. He often lamented that the old friends whom he had formerly always joined in the čiéxaus had long since been summoned by Watauinéiwa. -- My informants assured me that makaitúšude has not been current for some time.

(9) Aša hitēpáala ha-kútatumaiáala tupáana,
Indeed, I alone must find my way in summer,

tālauwāia, Hitapúan.
alas, my father.

/1065/ The meaning is: Again I begin a summer and that alone, how shall I make out! A widow speaks these words in remembrance of her husband whom she has recently lost. -- BD:260 translates hitōpan as "I only, I alone" /cited in English/. Compare in BD: 496 tūmaiana, "to be unable or find difficulty in doing anything" /cited in English/. I was told that tupáana is a word no longer current.

/1065 cont./

• 765 539

(10) Kagufwĕmuš̌ătude, Hitapúan, hăka,
Me he discouraged, my father, on my account,

tălauwāia.
alas!

One says this when he has lost a close relative and has been so deeply affected by the death that he sees himself facing his own demise. -- The above verb may be related to kāgufkilinata, in BD:200, "to get weat /sic/" /cited in English/.

(11) Watauinĕiwa-sĕf hăia kaguramínude,
The old-one-in-heaven me took away,

tălauwāja, šatambāanč̌inĕiwa Hitāpuanč̌ikāja,
alas, I am angry with my father,

tălauwāia.
alas.

A person declares quite openly that his anger is directed at Watauinĕiwa because he let his relatives die. -- BD:153 gives šatambaa, "dissatisfied, displeased, discontented" /cited in English/. Nelly and Adelheid asserted positively that this pure form of lament is difficult to translate.

(12) Annu, hăia, k-úla
Indeed, for my sake, ipse sponte /he freely/

kúpa, tarawĕ́na hauakipajĕmalim.
desuper /from above/ weep my relatives.

These words mean: Disaster has befallen me on account of the arbitrariness of the-one-up-there, namely, the loss of a member of the family. My nearest kin share this with me and weep with me. -- BD:422 mentions the commonly used tára and taratapōna, "to cry very much, to keep on crying as a young child in pain" /cited in English/. The word úla has been repeated several times.

/1065 cont./

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Its actual meaning is: sponte /Latin/, freely, from one's own impulse, according to a personal decision, or, as BD:87 says: "without being bidden, i.e., on one's own responsibility, without being asked" /cited in English/. That is why I have translated k-ūla kūpa as "ipse sponte desuper." This describes the completely free, indeed arbitrary, behavior of Watauinēiwa, against which every human being defenseless.

(13) Annu, māte k-ūla kūpa yāiix tēpanāna
Truly, ipse sponte desuper tears he makes flow,

kičimundēn, tālauwāja, yāiix yāmala, yāiix dāra,
of the relatives alas, tears big tears all,

kandēn.
from them.

/1066/ The meaning of this is obviously similar to that of the preceding lament. The last half of this lament is impressive. -- The word tēpanāna is probably the same as tōpanana in BD:409.

(14) Kičikāj kipaiēmalim kakūpa makāj
Him from the old women the-one-from-above

tušākude, Hitapūan, tālauwāja.
has taken away, my father, alas.

While a few older women are grieving over a particular deceased person, someone present puts the situation into words: Indeed, the one whom you mourn was allowed to die by the one-up-there; that is truly a reason for mourning.

(15) Kičin aizēx kipa kakūpan,
His strong wife from above [afflicted],

tālauwāja; ašār sēskin āalasina
alas; luckily heart strengthened

/1066 cont./

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aizéx	kípa	kakúpan,	tálauwája.
strong	wife	from above,	alas.

Referring to her brother-in-law, the weaker, grieving sister says: His brave wife [= my sister] was afflicted by the one-up-there, but fortunately that-one-up-there also gave her a stout heart and so she will overcome this sorrow. -- BD:63 also gives ʒalasina, "strong, energetic, not easily subdued" /cited in English/. The word aizéx is related to aizáku, or aizŏka, in BD:10.

(16)

Kítépan	hája	ka-kúpa	šituxmútuten,
He himself	me	the one-above	shall marry,

Hitapúan,	tálauwája.
my father,	alas.

Here we have the very perturbed burst of anger of a despairing widow who, after the loss of her husband, sees herself helpless and abandoned. She wants to say: Since I am alone and do not know what to do, the one-up-there shall marry me and assume the cares of a husband. -- BD:573 mentions tuxmútú and tuxmútútas, "living happily with one's wife" /cited in English/.

(17)

Apitépan	kečímúta	ke-kúpa
Without anything	[I] here	[through] from above,

mamuápi tépána,	tálauwája,	míči.
we in poverty,	alas,	place.

A widow describes to the Supreme Being the desperate situation of herself and her children, somewhat as follows: Bereaved of everything through the one-up-there, I am sitting here at my campsite with my children. Who will feed my children now that I am completely impoverished since the one-up-there has let my husband die. -- Compare, in BD:409, tópóna and tópanana, which is also related to apitópan. Possibly mamuápi given above and mamúápai in BD:299 are the same. Compare kečímúta with the compounds made with kiči and particles expressing direction in BD:171.

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(18) Ẽlatakáki ka-kúpa uwēxanā́ana,
Widower [I] [through] from above snatched away,

tā́lauwāja; ánnu, sikā́ia
alas; now then, You-up-there

mauštexmā́alawána Hidā́buan, Ajzákun,
care for them, my father, [you] hard one,

tā́lauwāja.
alas.

This means: I have now become a widower through that-one-up-there who has snatched away my wife. Woe is me! Now then, you-up-there, my father, provide sustenance for my children, you hard-hearted one!

(19) Kuí tumutekiyā́gua Watauinḗiwa-sēfinčikā́ja,
Where is to be found the old one in heaven,

tā́lauwāja?
alas.

This is the threat of a person who in his grief is at his wit's end, and he rages: Where could I meet Watauinḗiwa, for I should like to have it out with him! -- BD:395 gives tekiiā́gū, "to find what is one's own, to find and appropriate" /cited in English/.

(20) Akā́jakeyúwa hā́ja tekiyā́gu Watauinḗiwa-sēfinčikā́ja.
I desire fervently me to meet with old-one-in-heaven.

Just like the preceding formula this expression is used by a person who is very perturbed and who burns with the desire to settle ruthlessly with the one-up-there for his sad plight.

(21) Kuí hiletekiyā́gua Watauinḗiwa-sēfinčikā́ja,
Where could I meet Watauinḗiwa-in-heaven,

tā́lauwāja.
alas.

/1067 cont./

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This is similar to the preceding formula. Since this fervent desire, too, cannot be realized, everyone resigns himself to the tight fetters of those who are helpless and have no power.

(22) Kā́ia hā́ia killakupanā́auin, tā́lauwā́ia,
Also me shall he carry away, alas,

Hitapū́an.
my father.

A person in mourning longs to have his life's companion by his side, and since he does not want to be alone any longer, he cries emphatically: May the one-up-there likewise take me away from here and grant me death. -- Compare the compounds with killa in BD:171.

(23) Šapū́ru-ā́čin-hā́iuwa Hitā́puančikā́ia,
How terrible on account of my father,

tā́lauwā́ia, ukā́ali hia-kū́pa mḗaličin,
alas, only [child] from above in danger,

tā́lauwā́ia, šapū́ru-ā́čin-hā́iuwa, talā́uwā́ia.
alas, I am afraid, alas.

/1068/ This is the lament of a mother who has already lost several children. She says: I have every reason to be afraid, for, since Hidā́buan has let my other children die, the only one left to me is in danger of soon falling a victim to death. -- BD:286 gives mēala, "to expose oneself to danger" /cited in English/. BD:158 also gives sapurū-ačin-haiiūa, "how dreadful, how horrible" /cited in English/.

(24) Hitēpā́ančix hičí šapagur yēkēkēr
Solitary I to feel happy in my hut,

mētalapēnēkēr hā́yančjakḗli, tā́lauwāia.
quiet the hut and the hut of my children, alas.

Now that I am all alone in my hut, how could I be happy; for it is quiet in my hut and in the children's hut because it is empty, woe

/1068 cont./

765 539 is me! This is the lament of a mother who looks around in her hut and seeks in vain for her children, for death took them all. -- BD:260 gives hĭtopaāpan, "I by myself, without anybody else whatever" /cited in English/. BD:152 gives šabagūr̆ĕ, "to do happily, to be happily or at peace" /cited in English/. The children's hut, ēkēli, was described on page 34. Compare mŏtalapōna, "to become quite calm" /cited in English/, in BD:320.

765 152 In a frenzy of emotion a grieving woman sometimes breaks the hut to pieces immediately after the funeral of her child. Whenever she looks around in the dwelling, she is aware of the gap which death made in the circle of her children. Therefore, she wants to destroy completely this picture which awakens the pain anew. At the same time she destroys the utensils used by the deceased child. John Lawrence and his sons assured me that they often witnessed this kind of wild behavior on the part of grieving parents.

765 539 (25) Haɯakĭ́lunc̆i akā́luwaɯakīpan kagic̆ĕ́kude
I am from the sea the woman he took away

hā́ɯa, lŏ́ɯma.
me, oh grief.

A widow mourns because the Supreme Being allowed her husband to drown in the sea. -- BD:16 gives akālūaia, "a lake, pond, pool, puddle" /cited in English/. The above combination, a form familiar to the Yamana, says roughly: the woman who has something to do with the sea down there. BD:194 mentions kāgic̆ekū, "to rise up and get fast, so as not to be able to pull down!" /cited in English./ The exclamation lŏ́ɯma here is synonymous with tā́lauwāɯa. Compare laema in BD:282.

(26) Hā́la kūpa-māyén mutā́ɯana, tā́lauwāɯa,
Yet from above observe cease, alas,

Hitā́ɯanc̆ikā́ɯa.
my father.

Specifically this formula says: My father, I wish very much that you cease looking at me so sharply; otherwise I shall avenge myself soon enough and inflict a hurt on you, too. -- Compare mā́ɯaku,

/1068 cont./

765 "to observe, watch with a view to find out anything" /cited in English/, in BD:291; mutauwana, "to cease, desist" /cited in English/, in BD:366; hala and la in BD:277, 263. I heard this prayer several times at the great funeral ceremony in March, 1923.

/1069/

(27) Annumutá, hála kúpa tūmukinananāna
765 Desire, yet up there take to task
539

Yáiaašága-dáunlum kúpán téšku
773 in Yáiaašága up there be pleased
776

aónakipačikáia, tálauwáia.
women from the north, alas.

In order to understand this sentence one must realize that, according to the Yamana conception, all the animals were made by Watauinéiwa in Yáiaašága where there was a great revolution when the women from the north who performed the kína settled there. Thus, all the animals belong to him as his property. Anyone who wants to give full vent to his grief expresses in the above sentence his desire to cause Watauinéiwa serious harm by destroying his animals. If he should succeed in doing so, he would feel adequately compensated. -- The individual words can be found in BD:26, for example, annumutu, "to be longing for" /cited in English/. The word tūmūkīnana in BD:521 refers to the strict treatment of the candidates and to the serious order of the day in the kína school. BD:400 gives tōška, "to laugh, twitter" /cited in English/.

765 Old Mašemikens, who repeated this fixed formula at the large funeral ceremony in March, 1923, added a few personal 539 thoughts and spoke freely as follows: "All animals went out from Yáiaašága. Watauinéiwa brought that about. Therefore, since I cannot touch his person, I shall kill all his animals which he made. This will calm me and make me content, this will satisfy my lust for revenge!" After a long pause he went on with this thought, as follows: "Unfortunately I cannot now harm 'the-one-up-there' seriously, for I am too old [frail] and do not have enough weapons, I cannot undertake anything any more, for strength fails me, an old man. Formerly I used to carry out this plan; then I wantonly killed many animals, burned down the forest, chopped everything

/1069 cont./

765 539 to pieces, just to hurt 'the-one-up-there.' Today I am no longer able to do it, I have grown too old. In those days I had fun striking about wildly and destroying everything to hurt Watauinēiwa. That was the only reason I killed many animals, it was not because I wanted to use them for food."

(28) Kwī kun Yāiaaššága
All animals in Yāiaaššága

hapatēsku hāku mimuamēkuta
to enjoy stretch out the hands, others go hungry

hapatēskēnčikāja tēpan, Watauinēiwa.
enjoy also Watauinēiwa.

As in the preceding, this utterance also assumes that Watauinēiwa in Yāiaaššága made the animals; hence they belong /1070/ to him. A person who mourns a deceased person who was dear to him knows that he is being punished by the one-up-there, as though he had misused the right of ownership to the animals that is held by Watauinēiwa. That is why he explains to Watauinēiwa, using the words above: I killed and consumed your animals only with the intention of protecting myself from hunger and staying alive; other members of my family, that is, my wife, did the same. We had no other purpose in acting as we did. You punished me nevertheless and now I'm in trouble. -- Only hapatöska, "having a savoury smell" /cited in English/, in BD:266, and miāmūkana in BD:289 are to be specially noted.

(29) Apa čílla kapalagēnude, tālauwāja,
Why again be on the look-out, alas,

Abāila sa? hāindagēnčix hapatēš
strong one, you? the like of me enjoy

kēnjikāja hīta aalasināana, hipāja hipikāja
I fat unable; us all

kūpa šatambaānude, Hidābuan, tālauwāja;
up there very angry, my father alas;

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/1070 cont./

kúka — at the same time
mērakágu — to act
hipáj — we
kúkan — further

ǰatambǰánapana — discontent
kičikája, — with him,
Hidábuančikája, — our father,

tálauwāja; — alas;
akémuš — son,
tépája, — ah,
híxupa — the one-from-above

mēǰanágun, — bequeath,
tálauwāja, — alas,
maǰakána — the girl

híxupa — the one-from-above
mágáǰatušatákude, — leave in peace,
tálauwāja? — alas?

The meaning is roughly as follows: Why do you "strong-one-up-there" again look at me malevolently? Are you perhaps afraid that I will consume all your animals? One who is built as I am cannot even consume the fat and the meat of a stranded whale. So why are you angry with us all? We, too, are behaving so that you can see, i.e., we, too, are showing you now that we are likewise displeased with you. Will "the one-up-there" leave me my son after he has taken away my daughter? -- Almost all the words used here are listed in BD.

(30) Hitépuančitēpakánu — My father alone
hája — with me
kúpa-ǰatampáanmutákudej, — up there is angry,

lójma; — alas;
annúčča — truly,
wēlapatéxulēra — murderer-mountain,

kúpa-ǰatampáanmutákudej, — up there is angry,
lójma. — alas.

This means: I thought only Hidébuan alone up there is angry with me; but no, a human being has also become the murderer of my child, just as when that-one-there is angry. Instead of the word for "man" or "tribal member," the word for "mountain" is used here.

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(31) Ilamutśka Watayinśiwa xipśuźkiźa,
Strangely deals the old one with us,

wśźźa hamaźźmun mźlamutśkude, tźlawwāja.
alone stand here every day alas.

A mother laments: Most strangely does Watayinśiwa deal with us! He took away my daughter and now I stand alone. -- The word ilamutśka is probably related to ilźpitaki in BD:39.

(32) Kźmutua Hitapźan kupźźi
Why my father from above

talagźnakuźmźkude, tźlawźźja.
inconsiderately look upon, alas.

This laments says: Why does my father have no consideration for me, and why does he let my child die! -- This cry was repeated by several persons at the general funeral ceremony in March, 1923.

(33) Watayinźiwa hipikźźa kayźźnaźr ammuxźźgata,
The old one us both whale strand,

hayanźimźźla hamaźźna hipźź wźalapźźana.
every day in the morning we to cut meat.

A person expresses his grief in the following strange manner: The old-one-up-there has again let one of us die. It would have been better if he had stranded a whale. Then we would have gone there and for many days we could have cut pieces of meat for ourselves every morning, he as well as I, too.

(36) Yamaźźri źima kźpa maźźkula muźźude
Much water from above to weep

yatuwźźmkźpa kźźźmun, tźlawźźja;
eldest sister her father, alas;

kźźi wźlapamx-wźźa tźsaja kźpa
murderer-boy likewise from above

maźźkuźźna kźźi kźźźmun; źźźpen źźźa
many tears her father; child

/1071 cont./

• 765 539

kūpa mayamutunīna, tīlaywīja;
from above teeth show, alas;

kēnnasigaja wēj elinīana sīna yājx dērupe,
who may follow cause your tears to flow,

tīlaywāja.
alas.

Old Emilia from the south, who never had any contact with missions, repeated these words. My informants emphatically assured me that they were unfamiliar with many of the expressions because the latter are old and belong to another dialect. The entire sentence has approximately the following meaning: On account of that-one-up-there an old man shed many tears for his daughter whom death carried away. He shed as many tears as flowed in Ushuaia where the-one-up-there /1072/ caused many people to die! The-one-up-there poured out his wrath [showed his teeth] on the daughter of this man. If only it were in our power to wrest from him the same great flood of tears.

[131] It is well known that after serious epidemics took the lives of many in the mission station of Ushuaia the Yamana referred to this region as wēlapatux-wīja, "the bay of the great murderer," i.e., of many deaths. See pages 298 and 340 /in untranslated portion/ for details.

(35) Hāi latambīja hāi Hitāpuanēikīja.
I discontent with my father.

Anyone who is in mourning can use this general expression, for the behavior of the Supreme Being is wholly inconsiderate.

765 116 539 All these sayings more or less clearly express the helplessness of the grieving human being before Watauinēiwa, the strong one. The Yamana regard his action as arbitrary torture, for, regardless of their sorrow and contrary to their pleas, he continues to treat them cruelly. They permit themselves such sharp threats only in case of death, and they think they are justified in ridding their oppressed hearts of their grief through bitter accusations and violent rage. They cannot defend themselves in any other way.

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775 about the fate of the spirits in the other world nor do they fear them.

c. Mourning and Death Rites

765 The grief of our Fuegians over the loss of a tribal member in death has been described several times as unusually deep and lasting. It is caused chiefly by the uncertainty over the fate of the departed soul, for separation from it lasts forever. For obvious reasons the Yamana do not speak of events which agitate them and stir them to the depths. They hold back expressions of their grief especially in front of strangers. The travelers of earlier decades and the missionaries were able to furnish only brief and incomplete accounts. Favored by fortune, I had the opportunity to take part in the mourning of a small group of survivors, as well as in the general ceremony of mourning. Hence the following account describes my own experience. At the very beginning it should be pointed out that, generally speaking, expressions of mourning among these Indians are not mere formalities without content, but come from the deepest feelings. From the start certain unreliable opinions from other pens are rejected (40). Anyone

40. For example, Lovisato (b):146 uses almost insulting words: "True grief for the deceased does not exist; the facial painting, the shriek, the blows, the wounds that the Fuegians make at the death of a relative, the destruction of the wigwam where the individual died, and so on... are more mere practices, rules of custom, than sincere expressions of grief" /translated from Italian/.

[171] who compares the description of the mourning customs of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 542) with those of our Yamana will find considerable agreement. One must accept this fact as it stands, and although historical connections must be mentioned as the only correct explanation for it, they can no longer be clarified in detail or even thoroughly investigated.

/1110/ Directly after the burial, as soon as their own things have been brought to safety, the widower or the widow usually sets fire to the hut, "setting fire to the grass and bushes of the neighbourhood" /cited in English/ (Bridges [ ]:1). The meaning of this is that the survivors want to "do all they can to blot out all remembrance of the departed" /cited in English/, according to Bridges (YSA:XI, 208,1854). There should be nothing to remind them of the great loss they suffered when that beloved person was taken away from them. This is especially true of parents and children, as well as of spouses. Many a person behaves like one demented and, in his excitement, does not even shy from sacrificing indispensable objects of his own. The individual articles need not be named, since everything is indiscriminately destroyed. The surviving spouse even destroys the canoe if there is a prospect of fleeing from this place of death in another vessel. The canoe is regarded as the personal field of activity of the wife, and it would constantly remind the surviving husband of her. A mother is particularly ruthless with all the little things used by her deceased child. She furiously tosses articles of clothing, toys, little baskets, and other things into the fire. She, too, feels as though she must leave the hut when she sees the empty places where her child ate, slept, and played. For a long time the parents are haunted by the bitterest sorrow. If a father whose daughter has been snatched away by death is lucky in hunting, he carefully examines his spoils; he abandons female birds and sea lions because they remind him of his daughter. A hunter who mourns a dead son acts similarly; he takes only the female animals of those he has killed and throws the males into the sea. Our Yamana have a specific term for the animals that a grieving man puts aside in memory of his deceased child: *čiyellipra*, which is perhaps related to *čiyče* *čellia* in BD:128. The dog is the sole exception. Out of pity, and also because he is particularly valuable, they do not want to kill him; hence he is given to the older son, daughter, or a relative of the deceased.

Anyone who has helped at a burial and in the destruction of the possessions of the deceased is rewarded with gifts from the nearest relatives who dispense them voluntarily (p. 1050). Bridges (1):206 has already pointed out that "liberal presents are made to those who assist at the burning or the burial" /cited in English/.

/1111 conn./

T64 for hours with tireless persistence, although the loud lamentations
152 increase and diminish. Meanwhile the corpse has been buried. If it is burned, the howling and crying does not by any means cease while this is going on.

No matter how the corpse has been removed, it is only under /1111/ the compulsion of complete exhaustion that the neighbors who are not close to the deceased inconspicuously leave. After the hut of the dead person has been destroyed by fire, his nearest relatives crowd in elsewhere. Here they continue their lamentation for many more hours, heedless of the night which has perhaps long since fallen. This stimulates the neighbors to resume their cries of lament. For at least 20 hours after the soul's departure there is never an interval of complete quiet; the greater or lesser tumult of voices continues without pause. Even on the second and third day those who are nearest to the deceased barely interrupt their howling now and then for brief pauses, and the other people often fall in with them for two or three hours. All this depends on the disposition of the individual and on a number of incalculable motives. Almost all the adults become quite perceptibly exhausted. As though crushed, as though overwhelmed by grief, everyone remains in his hut almost without interruption. Now and then a person goes to those who have been directly affected by the misfortune, remains near them at least two hours, and weeps with them, as is demanded by sympathetic concern, according to the ideas of our Foreguts. Out of the same consideration everyone must remain still and quiet, even at a considerable distance from the mourning family. Even children may not talk loudly or laugh.

• T65 For the first few days after a death has occurred all is very
152 quiet in the entire camp. It was simply impossible for me to get people in front of the phonograph and the camera during this brief period. They rejected all my urging, which they interpreted as a violation of their innermost feelings, with the decisive words: "We are now in mourning!" Thus they told me, curtly and clearly, that they were simply unavailable for other matters.

T65 The custom of announcing a death without delay by means of
252 signal fires has been discussed (p.333). Three thick clouds of smoke are sent up close together, which are chiefly meant to call other families to come quickly and help the family that has been

/1113 cont./

765 242 stricken by death and is sometimes in a difficult position. The duty to give unselfish aid which burns ardently in everyone's soul, especially at the sight of the universally recognized smoke signal, compulsively drives them to the scene of misfortune. The mourners themselves appreciate it very much if many tribal members soon answer their summons.

765 769 After the initial, very lively outbursts have somewhat abated, the painful event drives all present away from the scene of the misfortune with uncanny force. Within four days at the outside, after the hut of the deceased has been burned, the campsite is changed. Usually each of the families /1114/ which have experienced the death departs in a separate direction, for each family wishes to be by itself if possible so that the others will not constantly remind them of the event. The missionaries in particular [171] mentioned this conduct which is common to both the Yamana and the Selk'nam (Vol. I., 566) (52). Hyades (q):379 also confirms

> 52. Here is one example only, which Bridges (VSA:XII, 53;1865) furnished on November 10, 1864. In Wulaia the youngest child of the well-known Ukokku died, and he immediately left this region. "For it is an ascertained fact that the Fuegians will not, sometimes for a long time, return to the place where their relatives have died" /cited in English/.

this: "In general the hut in which a native died is burned, and the place where it stood is abandoned for a long time by the friends of the deceased" /translated from French/. They, of course, stay away from this place for a certain time, and meanwhile it is altered by the blind forces of nature. If the grave or the burial place has become unrecognizable as a result of plant growth or other circumstances, no one feels any aversion to settling down there.

765 551 The strict rule of never mentioning the name of the deceased is in accord with the effort they make not to be reminded in any way of the deceased. There are several witnesses for this. The first is Fitz-Roy (a):181 who can refer directly to Jemmy Button: "He would not talk of a dead person, saying, with a grave shake

/1114 cont./

•765 551 of the head, 'no good, no good talk; my country never asserts: "The Fuegians do not even like to mention their deceased friends"; likewise Bridges (MM:III, 119;1869): the name of those who have died "is not mentioned for years, and they seek to utterly forget them" /cited in English/. That is not all; according to Bridges (VSA:XI, 259;1864), "the name of the dead is sacred for a long time after, and it is a great provocation to mention the name of the dead" /cited in English/ (53). In case a survivor has a name

53. Elsewhere he (a):206 repeats: "The name of the dead is not mentioned to the mourners, as it is considered very offensive, and would endanger a person's life" /cited in English/. When, in March, 1864, Stirling (VSA:XI, 193;1864) spent some time in the Wulaia region, he was asked "not to allude to the deceased by name; for the Fuegians, like the Patagonians and other Indians, bury in silence the names of the departed" /cited in English/. Further confirmation is found in Hyades (g):39 and (q):379, Lovisato (b):149, Spencer:102, and others.

which is identical with that of the deceased, he must give it up (54). For example, he will exchange the name taken from

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54. Not only the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 565), but also other tribes of North and South America follow this custom. We give here an example from the most recent times. H. Baldus, "Erbfolge der Häuptlinge bei den Tereno" /Hereditary Succession of Chiefs among the Tereno/ (Ethnologischer Anzeiger, Vol. IV, pp. 38-42, Stuttgart, 1935), reports of these Indians in the southern Matto Grosso: "If one of the parents dies, all the children of the family are given other names, so that the surviving parent is not reminded of the past by their former names and thereby saddened."

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his birthplace, according to the common custom, for the name of the place where he experienced his first youth initiation, or, in changing the name, they may take into consideration a striking physical peculiarity.

The nearest relatives of a deceased person are designated by a special term for some /1115/ time after his death, which is to let people know that they are in mourning. BD:104 gives ūsiluš̌wōnji, "a name given a boy instead of his natal name in respect to the recent dead, when both bore the same name" /cited in English/; also, ūsiluš̌wakīpa, "a name given the surviving female who bore the same natal name as a person lately dead" /cited in English/; and, finally, ūsiluš̌wa, "a term given to a place instead of its proper name in respect to the dead who was named after it" /cited in English/. These terms are still in use today and were explained to me with these same meanings. I was also given the word ikaš̌kān. It refers to one who bears the same name as one who has drowned; it is not given in BD. After some time, when the changed name (55) has become current,

> 55. Spencer:99, 105 cites particular details: "'Kush' is a berry now called 'Aman.' Burry /berry?/ used to be called 'kush,' but man of this name died, so changed name of burry... 'Lappa,' mussel, was name of man who died; now called 'Cachuing.' 'Tawella' is name of man who died, so changed to 'Stab'" /cited in English/.

this temporary designation is also dropped because it is no longer necessary (56).

> 56. The curious trait of not giving children proper names until late in life must be mentioned. With the prevailing high infant mortality, frequent mention of the name would constantly remind the parents of their loss. Since, as Bridges (a):176 realized, "it is considered evil to name the dead, if the

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child had no name the parents are not vexed by hearing it named" /cited in English/.

Now and then, of course, mention is made of a dead person, and the Yamana resort to circumlocutions which they easily invent and comprehend. For instance, if parents use an expression such as "my first child" or "my youngest daughter," the people present, who are well aware of the number of children these parents have, clearly understand. Spegazzini (a):168 also speaks of this custom (57). Fred Lawrence assured me that

> 57. In view of all this it is very strange that Cooper:162 could maintain: "The Yahgan prayer /prayed?/ to the deceased" /cited in English/. The Yamana do, of course, often remember their dead and mention them on the occasion of a general funeral ceremony, but without mentioning their names.

within a period of a few years he was twice given another name by the natives; first one and then another person who died had the same name he did. It must be pointed out here how difficult research becomes as a result of the Yamana custom of not speaking of deceased persons. I was told that a certain Pilalaixana from the Wollaston Islands murdered five men who had lived there in the manner of the Selk'nam. He alone knew about their way of life and briefly reported it to his countrymen. The latter, however, refused to repeat this information and excused themselves by saying: "We do not speak about the deceased; respect for them demands this (58)!"

> 58. Hyades (g):39 also realized this great disadvantage: "They avoid speaking of their dead ancestors as much as possible and it is particularly difficult to get them to mention their names, which, of course, makes historical accounts almost impossible."

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302 Since our Fuegians are very dependent on everything visual, actual outward signs of mourning are no less important for them. /1116/ Body painting is of primary importance. It is absolutely demanded -- and no one would be guilty of negligence in this respect -- that anyone who learns of the death must paint himself in some way. A person chooses the particular pattern he wants, but he must paint himself. This is the way one shows his participation in the event and his sympathy with those chiefly affected, and it is universally regarded as of primary importance. Even before death has set in, everyone present reaches for a small piece of charcoal, crushes it between his hands, and rubs the powder over his whole body. As soon as the shrill outcry from the hut of the dying person announces that he has expired, everyone in the neighboring huts immediately rubs his face with charcoal dust in the same manner. If a canoe approaches the coast and its occupants wear the decoration of mourning, the people on shore do not await its arrival and the message, but paint themselves without delay and, thus prepared, hasten toward the new arrivals from whom they hear the news. Everyone who receives news of a death from whatever source must immediately paint himself in some way.

The nearest relatives of the deceased always apply only the dry charcoal powder all over their bodies. They rub it into their faces several times a day, usually at times when their sorrow wells up more acutely. In their excitement they are not particular about distributing the color evenly. Irregular stripes and large spots cover their faces and bodies, and they look frightfully ugly. This appeals to them. For many days they must paint themselves anew each morning, soon after they awaken and before they eat anything. They also immediately commence their song of mourning, which they accompany with loud weeping. This occupies the period roughly between four and six o'clock. Some people regularly begin their day in this manner for many months after the death of their relative, and this incessant manifestation of mourning has a shattering effect on all the people in the neighboring huts. During the day, of course, they also maintain the customary body painting for the deceased.

There are, however, some mourners who after about three weeks begin to take some pains with their facial painting and do it

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more carefully. Their favorite pattern is nonsymmetrical. They rub half the face with red pigment, the other half with black, the color having first been mixed with blubber. With the nails of the four fingers they scratch thin lines into this even layer from the eyelids across the cheeks to the edge of the jaw bone. These lines are supposed to indicate the paths of the many tears, as though they had washed the color away.

It is the general practice, then, for the nearest relatives of the deceased, as well as all the friends and neighbors, to rub dry charcoal dust all over the body /1117/ during the days immediately following death. A few women are satisfied to paint only their heads and the upper part of their bodies. Some of the men go further, however, and draw a white, arched line a hand's breadth wide from one shoulder to the other; others add to this pattern by drawing a similar vertical line from the throat to the navel. All this applies to the nearest relatives, who regularly follow the above style, whereas other people are free to choose any kind of pattern. On their faces they usually apply white or red dots, crosshatching, and lines in all kinds of arrangements on the black background (59). This type of body painting is used

59. This practice can be illustrated by a small group of mourners whom Aspinall (MM:XXII, 192;1885) observed on May 31, 1885. "When we arrived they were all painted, and, on asking the cause, we found that on the morning of our arrival a canoe had upset and two children were drowned. The nearest relatives had their faces quite black, the chief friends had streaks of red radiating from the eyes over the cheeks, while one woman, to tell the cause of death, had two lines of white drawn from ear to ear across the bridge of the nose, with white spots between of graduated sizes from the nose to the ears" /cited in English/.

when the death was caused by illness or old age; in itself it means a natural death (60).

60. This is probably the reason that other

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observers quite generally call black the color of mourning. Hyades (g):39, for example, writes: "They also wear outward signs of mourning, black body painting."

In addition, particular drawings are used to indicate any kind of violent death. If a person has fallen from a cliff or from a tree, one first of all rubs his face with fine powdered charcoal and over that paints three vertical white lines, namely, from the bridge of the nose to the tip and on down from the mouth to the chin, and on both sides of the face from the outer corners of the eyes over the cheek bones and down to the edges of the jaw. These marks are separated by a white cross-stripe over the eyes and nose to complete the pattern. There is another somewhat more complicated design. First, a black background is put over the whole face. Over it, on one side of the face beginning at the eye, three white vertical lines are drawn to the edge of the jaw and a fourth stripe from the bridge of the nose to the tip of the chin. The other half of the face remains uniformly black or has three white cross-stripes from the corner of the mouth, the nostril, and the outer edge of the eye. The white lines, which symbolize the cliff or the tree, are sometimes also applied on a black background. Now and then the three cross-stripes are made with a mixture of white lime and black powdered charcoal stirred up with blubber. This last procedure is almost regularly used by the messengers who spread the news of the accident. Others recognize from afar the substance of their report.

/1118/ A considerable number of Yamana die by drowning. In order to announce this type of death the people mix white and black pigments and rub the mixture over the lower part of the face down to the mouth. This gray mixture resembles the slimy sediment on the sea floor with which the mouth of a drowned person is filled. In addition, they put a strip of skin with white down feathers around their foreheads, which indicates the foam-crested waves in which the unfortunate one was drowned. The painted area which extends down to the mouth and not beyond is meant to show that a great deal of water entered the mouth (61). Sometimes

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61. Bridges (MM:X, 80;1875) mentions that

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this type of accident is characterized by a special painting, but he does not describe it in detail: "By and by a company of Eastern arrived, they brought sad news; a canoe had been lost, with a large number of persons on board, among whom was the uncle and brother of this young fellow. He was very much troubled, yet mourned and grieved quietly. All those who came, and were in any way related to any of the lost party, had their faces painted in imitation of the waves of the sea, and all here, similarly circumstanced, did the same. This is their way of mourning and noted events" /cited in English/.

As "a sign of mourning for a drowned child," Aspinall:270 saw among the people of Wollaston "red lines on the faces of the men, as well as a dark cross-band with light dots on the faces of the women." This was merely common painting, not typical of this accident. Lovisato (b): 147 referred to specific kinds of painting for the various causes of death and probably based his statement on Bridges (i): 14, who clearly says: "There were regular systems of painting by which the nature of the death of the departed was indicated. Thus, for death by drowning the pattern was black bands with white edges, if by violence it was black or red with white spots, if natural a plain black" /cited in English/.

they also paint the upper half of the face a uniform black and add white cross-stripes close together or rows of dots. These horizontal lines are meant to indicate that the victim sank deeper and deeper which caused the rising water level to make

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302 successive marks above the mouth.

Now and then a murder is committed. The friends and relatives of the unfortunate one call attention to it by means of several vertical red lines on the face, which radiate out from the level of the eyes. They set out to find the culprit and gather helpers to expiate the crime. They want to make it visible from afar that this is their intention. The straight red lines indicate the paths marked by the flowing blood. If this occasions combat (p. 901), the relatives and friends uniformly paint their entire bodies black, while the opponents paint themselves red. Each of these two groups paints the same color on their weapons and clubs.

Our Yamana do not by any means strictly adhere to these particular decorations. They often give in to momentary whims. One afternoon at a common funeral rite I saw that all the people present had followed the request of an old man /1119/ and painted half the face a uniform black while the other half was covered with fine vertical red lines, the former indicating an ordinary death a few weeks before, the latter as a reminder of a murder long ago. Actually, it is incumbent on the nearest relatives to apply the painting that indicates the specific cause of death, but just as they may disregard this and choose another type, so also may the friends and people less close to them adopt the latter. I was also told of the rule that the nearest relatives of the deceased must rub their faces and the upper part of their bodies to the navel with a uniform layer of dry charcoal dust, and that the neighbors and friends cover their entire bodies with vertical black lines set close together, with rows of white dots running over them and beside them. Actually, however, this ancient pattern is found only occasionally nowadays, and people limit it to the face alone. In more recent times, however, almost everyone as a rule wraps the strip of skin with down feathers around his forehead. A corpse is never painted, as has already been mentioned; only the corpse of a yékamuf is thus distinguished, as will be explained later.

Whereas the paintings described above have been preserved to this day, the tonsure of mourning, which was a general custom in former times has been abolished. Long ago Bridges (h):209 mentioned that "they were obliged to cut the hair on the crown of their

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765 302 heads as a sign of mourning"/translated from Spanish/. On the day when a death occurred, the women and children, not so often the men, had the hair on the top of their heads shaved with a mussel shell. Only a wide wreath of hair was left around the head. Thus, "for some time the hair on the crown of their head was shorn like a tonsure," as Hyades (g):39 and (p):330 expresses himself. The head was shaved only once; after that the hair was allowed to grown in freely. A man who wore this tonsure was called kĕ̌píkun, a woman, kĕ̌píkkipa. BD:175 also gives this last word exactly as it is given here, but the first one somewhat differently. The Selk'nam (Vol. I, 558) have followed this custom more faithfully. Since Europeans have permanently settled in those regions, our Indians do not want to be conspicuous with a large tonsure and content themselves with cutting the hair all around their heads at the level of the ear lobes. They have recently given up even this symbol of mourning. The Yamana repeatedly assured me that formerly everyone took pains with the proper large tonsure of mourning. In recent times they all tie the strip of skin with down-feathers, apawĕ̌a, around their heads instead.

765 Finally, a person who has been particularly affected by a death inflicts superficial wounds upon himself as a special expression of his sorrow. He takes sharp splinters of a mussel shell or a piece of slate and scratches first his arms and legs and then his chest until blood flows. /1120/ Bridges (MM:III, 119;1869), along with Hyades (q):379, Lovisato (b):147, and Spencer:104, asserts: "It is a common practice for near kindred to wound and cut themselves" /cited in English/. Nowadays among our Fuegians it is usually only the mother who inflicts such wounds upon herself when her child dies. Among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 556) many more people do this.

The hours immediately following the death of a relative or friend, during which the corpse is burned or buried, are filled with the shrill crying and pitiful howling of those present. After their feelings have been somewhat assuaged, more moderate songs of mourning replace the outcries. Other observers have made only fleeting references to them, for example, Hyades (q):379: "When the Fuegians learn of the death of a relative or friend, they immediately show their sorrow with great vehemence through tears

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765 and lamentations" /translated from French/. Bridges (MM:III, 119;1869) speaks of "long-continued mourning and incantation for the dead" /cited in English/. Earlier, Despard (VP:VIII, 179; 1861) reported: "Afternoon, Ookokko enlarged upon the many deaths that happen in 'my uncle country,' and then described some of the concomitants. Men come, many come, sing much. Hah yang how yi ya say. Hawa hya gya owaticca loopen wota weneewan...Cut face with finger nail, make blood rub over face, cut hair head top, put on red, make body here red, here black, white round legs, all same tie stocking. Cry much, water run down face, make lines in black, red. Our men cry very much" /cited in English/ (62).

62. Shortly before, in Beagle Channel, Despard (VP:VI, 111;1859) observed something similar: "We noticed one lady, with a face deepened to a fine black by charcoal, and were informed she was in mourning. Afterwards a wailing and a monotonous dirge proceeded from her ucer [hut], being her funeral wail for two men and a boy belonging to her family, who have recently died, somewhere along the Beagle Channel" /cited in English/.

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152 As I know from my own experience, the nearest relatives of the deceased avoid all distracting occupations during the first three or four days, and they remain almost constantly in the dwelling. This is the period of strictest mourning, which they spend in incessant lamentation and scarcely take any nourishment. Crouched by the fire, they weep and howl incessantly. With sad faces and mournful voices they repeat in a very simple rhythm a most monotonous melody with meaningless words, such as awáj awáj or óyoioj and others. When their agitation is great, their singing is louder and stronger; when they are exhausted, it subsides and becomes a monotonous murmur. Usually they move the upper part of the body gently back and forth or sideways with the rhythm. They roll their eyes, distort their faces, tear their hair, scratch slight wounds on their faces with their finger nails, and even throw

/1120 cont./

765 152 themselves flat on the ground and for a time behave as though they were mad. This need not surprise one, for after their continuous exertion they finally lose all self-control and mental power. It is possible that /1121/ this strange behavior has caused a person in strict mourning to be called hannúšun, or hannuškípa. BD:265 explains this as: "A man, woman like a hánnuš, i.e., insane, senseless" /cited in English/.

The people from the neighboring huts join the strict mourners several times a day, not all at once, but irregularly and freely in individual groups. The latter are still vigorous, and they fall in with the singing of those present and stimulate them anew; hence the singing does not stop day or night. Even if all the families have left the scene of death after two to four days, the mourners soon begin their weeping again at the place where they erect their hut. They stimulate the new neighbors here to take part in their lamentation. At first they devote a great many hours to it, and fewer later on, but they continue it even after two and three years, although then only at longer intervals (63).

> 63. Hyades (q):379 agrees: "This great sorrow soon subsides; nevertheless the women nurse their grief for several months, repeating the scenes of tears and lamentations almost every day" /translated from French/.

It is customary to interject the well-known, ancient formulas of lament and the reproaches against Watauinéiwa into the singing (p.789). This is done not only by the nearest relatives, but also by friends and neighbors who happen to take part in this song of mourning. Everyone, of course, appears with one of the customary body paintings of mourning. It is the absolute duty of every adult Yamana to accompany for a few hours every day those mourners who are relieving their souls of grief through loud whimpering and groaning. This goes on day and night and arouses the sympathy of everyone in the neighboring huts.

If someone dies during a číxus or kína and the participants hear of it, they, too, devote several days and many hours to the customary song of mourning. As Nelly Lawrence asserted, the western Yamana customarily inserted a ceremony of mourning

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769 resembling a yamalaše̊mo̊ina into each čie̊xaus celebration, even if no one had died meanwhile. During this ceremony they vividly remembered in particular those persons who in former years had taken a very active part in the affair. The other groups now and then imitated this custom. While it was going on, the participants, each to himself, thought about the deceased person whose loss was most painful to them, and they painted themselves to indicate the manner of his death. A true Yamana can never quite forget his dead, even though their names are no longer mentioned.

• 765 262 It has already been mentioned that for a few days the nearest relatives of a deceased person take almost no nourishment. Their neighbors and friends generally follow their example, especially if a murder is being mourned. Formerly even children were made to fast, and everywhere there was strict quiet. In order to carry out all this undisturbed, /1122/ the mourners sometimes retired into the nearby woods and stayed there for a few days and nights, weeping and moaning beside an open fire. After that they returned to their dwellings. The women who told me this were unstinting in their admiration for the hardiness of their countrymen of former times and frankly confessed that they themselves lacked the strength and perseverance for such feats.

767 Although everyone willingly participates in a song of mourning, there is a type of wailing woman who may on occasion assist someone. A person will invite these women if he himself has no near relatives, for with the loss that death has inflicted upon him he feels his isolation all the more painfully. Shame also plays a certain role in the case of a person who clearly feels that the death he mourns is a punishment for wrongdoing and who is made conscious of it by others. During the first few days nature quite impetuously demands her rights and the mourner expresses his grief without restraint; later he is sometimes overcome by consciousness of his guilt. According to ancient custom, the lamenting, groaning, weeping, and singing must continue for several weeks. Sometimes distant relatives or friends chosen at random are given this duty. On occasion, as so-called arnĕ̊mutu tálauwaia, they render an outstanding performance. Men also may do this, and they act on special invitation; indeed they are enlisted, so to speak, and receive some reward for their efforts. These so-called weeping women simply repeat the customary

/1122 cont./

767 monotonous melodies, and if they are tired they content themselves with humming a barely audible, continuous háā háā... on the same pitch. It is these weeping women in particular who again and again refer to Wataŭinēĵwa and who ceaselessly repeat one or another of the ancient formulas of mourning. BD:653 gives yinūūa and yinūkĭpa with the meaning "mourner" /cited in English/; arnēmutu tālaŭwaja has the special meaning "weeping women."

• 765 533 An attentive observer will note that the Yamana vividly and often recall their dead and that, as Bridges (e):332 tersely expressed himself, "mourning was strictly observed." Individual persons often gather together to sing songs of mourning, even when there has been no immediate death. The most common term for this is tālaŭwaja, or tállaŭwaja, which emphasizes the private, everyday, inconspicuous nature of the performance. Only a few persons join in a tālaŭwaja, namely, the relatives and their intimate friends. There are no special invitations, and no involved preparations are necessary. The simple painting of mourning and participation in the singing suffice for all. Thus a person who is seized with grief for his beloved dead initiates /1123/ a tālaŭwaja, and he can count on an immediate response from those close to him. BD:398 gives tellaaja, "being mourners or in mourning for the dead" /cited in English/. If tālaŭwaja also means a person who is mourning, it is clear that, like a deep groan, it is meant to point to the grieving person when it is repeated in the cries of lamentation addressed to Wataŭinēĵwa. Usually it stands at the end of a prayer and a request, and it could be translated as: woe is me, I am in mourning, how sad I am, this is the reason for my sorrow, and so forth (p. 989). Now and then lōĵma takes the place of tālaŭwaja. Strictly speaking, the former is a song by means of which one gets in touch with any kind of spirit. A person who mourns the dead recalls their souls to his own memory, as it were; he feels that they are near, devotes all his attention to them, and once more is with them. An association with them such as people enjoy in everyday life, however, cannot take place. Hence the pain of separation from these soul-spirits gains the upper hand again, and that is what the grieving person, full of despair, puts into his lōĵma cry.

/1124 cont./

769 Fitz-Roy, as well as the missionaries, praise them for. One of the men accompanying Bove even sold the skeleton of his own father to which he addressed the following speech: 'Farewell, precious father! You who in life saw only our snow and our storms, now that you are dead are going far away. Farewell! May your journey be happy!'"

Today we shake our heads at the boldness with which such fantastic descriptions could be set forth a few decades ago. The Lawrence brothers to whom I showed the account absolutely declared it to be a bold invention. Finally one must keep in mind that Bove would never have accumulated his considerable collection of skeletons and skulls if it had not been furnished him from the mission cemetery. He does not maintain that the scattered, scarcely recognizable individual graves outside were ever pointed out and opened for him.

It is well known that they wipe out every trace indicating the site of a grave (p. 1053).

765 152 A touching example of the sincerity of their grief for a deceased person exists from olden times. On November 27, 1958, Despard met a one-eyed man in Beagle Channel and inquired about the cause of his misfortune. The man answered that because of a deceased person dear to him he had wept so much that one of his eyes ran out. "Man die, here ashore, be very sorry, cry very much, eye ran away in water all over cheek; yes, sir!" /cited in English./ Our Fuegians never forget the loved ones whom death has taken from them.

765 533 It is well known that the tálauwaja gives the Yamana a very welcome opportunity to unburden their souls of all that oppresses them. While the main body of those present carries the customary melody in its monotonous uniformity, this or that person interrupts with a more or less long discourse, speaking of things which at the moment happen to affect his feeling and his mood. He is usually quite excited by it, as is shown by his lively, agitated

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expression. As a rule he speaks of sad memories and threatening fears. The words of one encourage another, and thus such interruptions follow one another at short intervals. In the following we shall give the valuable texts of two tálauwaja discourses, which were obtained in a somewhat unusual way. I had already recorded with the phonograph about 30 songs which are repeated on various occasions, but my effort to get a tálauwaja song had always failed. The people had coolly rejected my request with the remark: "How could we sing tálauwaja now, since no one has died!" When Fred Lawrence heard that I still lacked this piece, he asked his wife Nelly to help me to get it soon. She declared herself willing to do so. After a few days, on March 20, 1922, she mentioned the names of two Indian women, Gertie and Peine, who wanted to perform the tálauwaja song that day. /1125/ They would expect a considerable reward, however. Making a quick decision, I agreed; moreover, Fred Lawrence held out the prospect of a lovely present for them. The two women arrived about 11 o'clock in the large laundryroom of the work house on the farm in Punta Remolino where there was nothing to disturb us. I got the phonograph ready for the recording, but the women put me off: "Not yet, we are still not at all in the mood!" A considerable time passed in patient waiting. The two Fuegian women squatted on the ground, motionless and quiet, in deepest concentration and lost in their own thoughts. Finally around three o'clock they said: "Now tálauwaja can begin!" From their attitude and their remarks it was clear that they were very agitated and completely dominated by their thoughts of mourning. Calderon was attentively ready to translate the individual sentences which broke out with strong feeling and violent emotion.

At first both of them began with a monotonous melody. After about ten minutes Gertie continued it alone, and Peine interjected with much emotion: "Ah, how pitiful is our state, to sing tálauwaja because these two [Gusinde and Koppers] are leaving us. They come from a people that is very numerous, but there are only a few of us. The few that are left of our people resemble a few little birds who by chance escaped the hunter. Watauinéiwa has taken away the good ones; he has left

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only the ugly and unattractive ones for the last days of the Yamana people. We, the good-for-nothing, the sick, have remained here to this day. We are kept alive by him, we who are weak, who are few in number. He deprived me of my children, indeed of my whole family. And the two sons I have left will probably also soon have to tread the same path (65) that the others trod

65. She means Sarmiento and Balfour, both of whom are in poor health; the latter had already been given up once during a serious illness.

earlier. My [distant] cousin [Nelly Lawrence] has also lost several relatives, but at least she still has a brother [Calderon] who is blessed with a large troop of children. But I am all alone and only that one distant relative [Nelly Lawrence] is still with me. This relationship is through another man and is very distant. Ah, woe is me, Hidáhuan, you make me suffer a great deal, you have punished me severely! How numerous the people in the west [where Peine's home is] once were; just two or three of us remain. He has kept alive only a single one of my relatives from there, and in the end he will take her away, too."

After a brief pause Peine joined Gertie in the singing. Then Gertie spoke with great emotion: "These two [Gusinde and Koppers] have come here and they urge us to sing tálaqwaja. Although we have not repeated this song for a long time, nevertheless the two desire to hear it. Hitherto Watayinéwa has /1126/ forced us to sing tálaqwaja on account of a death, now these two urge us. The Whites have generally assumed that tálaqwaja is a pleasure for us. No, for us it is a sad song. If I were a man, I would suffer under the hard work which our men have to do in the forest, on the sea, and everywhere. But as a woman I am usually busy in the hut. If all my relatives should die, I would summon the courage to suffer like a man. I would also work and suffer as they do in the forest, on the sea, and everywhere. I would over-exert myself so that I, too, would eventually have to succumb. There are only a few women left among my relatives, the men of my kingroup have been taken away by 'the one-up-there.' I cannot measure up to the women of former times among

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our people. They sang and spoke very well and beautifully, much better and more beautifully than we can today. All those lovely words [from ancient tradition] have been lost to us; why, nowadays we are often forced to speak English and Spanish. At the same time we are forgetting our own beautiful old Yamana words. Our tongue is no longer as sure as was that of our ancestors. Ah, how pitiful is our state! And what must we not bear! How few of us are left! In the other regions where the Whites live, people are numerous. If someone dies there, it does not matter; there are still many left. But with us things are very different. If a single one of us dies, it means more than if a thousand die among the Europeans who are very numerous. What a sad state my old blind father and my mother are in. On the day they die I shall run into the forest and lose myself there [purposely], I shall neither eat nor drink and shall die of sorrow. If I were a man, then I would storm out [anywhere] and kill all the animals out there, but bring nothing home. I would hack everything to pieces. I would carry on just like 'that-one-up-there' who also destroys and shatters everything, as though he needed it for food (66). Then, for once, he, too, would be

66. Gertie here uses a figure of speech which recurs in some of the cries of lamentation to the Supreme Being and which was explained in detail on p. 999.

made to feel what it is like for one [defenseless people] in such a situation. Then, however, he would have a legitimate reason for punishing me." For a long time after this the two women maintained a thoughtful silence.

The tílauwaja utterances expose the very depths of the soul and reveal the secret recesses of the heart; they reflect all the humanity of the Yamana. They show their nature and all their innate characteristics most clearly and transparently in the way they mourn their dead.

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4. The General Mourning Ceremony

765 Considering that the whole Yamana tribe is spread out over a wide area and that, moreover, it is split up into many tiny family groups, one is justified in wondering how a general /1127/ ceremony with many people participating can take place (67). It

67. Unreliable observers have too hastily and erroneously maintained with Spegazzini (a): 167: "When a Fuegian dies, the survivors hold no great ceremonies" /translated from Spanish/.

is not only the consciousness of their homogeneity and the conviction that the departure of an adult results in a noticeable weakening of the group as a whole that draw them together, but also want to relieve their oppressed hearts of their personal sorrow and woe, as well as their grief for their loved ones. The so-called yamalaśemóina serves this purpose very well. In contrast to the tálaŋwaja which is intended for a small, more private circle, so to speak, it signifies a large public ceremony, in which many families participate when they have the opportunity to do so. They speak of tálaŋwaja when only a single person in his hut or in the solitude of the forest repeats a song of mourning, but the yamalaśemóina presupposes a certain amount of preparation and numerous participants.

This term appears early and first of all in the work of the missionary Despard (b):746, who writes: "Murder is punished by the yamma-thoo-moyna, or blood avenger" /cited in English/. In BD:640 this yamala šimsuína occurs again. In both places the meaning is restricted to "blood revenge," but actually it is more comprehensive. To go back to its original meaning, yámala, according to BD:640, signifies "immense, terrible, tremendous, awful" /cited in English/. The word šemóina, or šumóina, was translated for me as: "Painful stabbing, deep pains in the chest." The meaning "to stab" must actually be contained in the root of the word, which is shown, for example, in šimsuína šir, which according to BD:160, refers only to arrow and lance, to spear and dagger.

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Any death can be the occasion for a yamalaĕemôna which unites many people, but a murder always induces it within the shortest possible time. In individual cases, however, the Yamana do not follow a definite rule, but make it contingent on whether enough members of the tribe assemble. An example may explain this. In March, 1923, several men had conducted the medicine-man school on Navarino Island. The following night, on March 24, 1923, the wife of old Thomas finally died of a long illness. I was startled out of my sleep by loud moans and lamentation from all the hut. It was not until dawn that I went to the place where the dead woman lay, surrounded by many people who were weeping and groaning in genuine sorrow. I purposely presented myself as a sympathetic, but altogether silent onlooker, and they were all appreciative that I was not in the least disturbing. A deeply felt mood of sorrow lay oppressively on the small Indian settlement. I was reverently silent and very reserved so that the people should not be influenced in any way and could express their feelings without restraint, /1128/ for I was, of course, the only White among these Fuegians. I carefully observed each one and the group as a whole. I gained the impression that the mood and the emotions of everyone grew more animated from hour to hour. Toward eleven o'clock Santiago happened to pass me. Heedlessly and with a tearful voice he said to me: "We are all terribly sad, so we shall soon begin the yamalaĕemôna!" And that is what happened. The fact that a considerable number of families were already gathered together proved favorable and probably decisive. On another occasion they would have had to wait and call together the individual families. Conditions are right for the yamalaĕemôna if enough people are assembled and the requisite mood has developed either through the discussions of the old people or in view of an impending death.

It was incalculably valuable for me to have personally experienced the large funeral ceremony at the time on Navarino Island (p. 190 /untranslated/). The woman was buried around noon in exactly the way our Fuegians had learned from Europeans. After that they gathered in a spacious little house while I retired by myself to the house of Santiago. In the other hut the singing and wailing which had long been familiar to me soon began, and many people were taking part, as I could

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765 123 gather from the tumult of voices which reached me. This activity had been going on for about an hour when a man came to me and asked me in a pleading tone whether I would go over to them. Plaintively he made it clear to me that everything I should see and hear there could not please me personally because all the people were in an extremely sad mood, but that they would nevertheless appreciate it greatly if I condoled with them and showed that I shared their sorrow. The good old man had no idea how eagerly I had been waiting for an invitation, for how could I have allowed to miss an opportunity of seeing these Fuegians open up completely and reveal their innermost feelings in front of everyone. I followed him without delay to the assembly of mourners. Truly, what I experienced far exceeded my expectations, and here I became fully acquainted with the innermost attitudes of these Indians. Without fear of men and without the slightest shame they loudly expressed their thoughts and feelings, they spoke of their Supreme Being with a matter-of-factness that seemed to come from daily habit and that surprised me, treating him as though he were one of them. At the same time, without any effort on my part and like a gift of grace, a goodly number of the ancient laments and prayer formulas dropped into my lap. I was already familiar with some of them, but here I saw how the Indians use them in a state of utmost anguish and spiritual agitation. I was astonished at the easy naturalness with which men as well as women abusively reproached the Supreme Being. Some of them seemed to me like naughty pupils who have been punished /1119/ and who, aware of their own helplessness, sullenly discuss it with their teacher. All seemed to have freed themselves of any restraint.

765 As may be seen from what has been said, there are no definite regulations for the participants in the yamalakemiga. For obvious reasons, the nearest and more distant relatives, friends, and neighbors gather with the family who is mourning a recently deceased person. Everyone wants to comfort the mourners and to accompany them in their daily chagwaja. Word of the death soon spreads, and no one hesitates to seek out the survivors. Everyone says to himself: "Anyone who is in mourning expects others to condole with him. Some day, I, too, shall be in mourning and then I shall want to have many comfort

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765 me with their support!" If many people happen to be together, a tálegwaja turns into a yamalaľemójna as a matter of course. As has been said, a special request goes out from the relatives of a murdered person because they are obliged to exact blood revenge and must solicit helpers. The final impetus for a general funeral rite is given by a few old people when they say that the situation and the mood of the people are appropriate for a general ceremony. Whoever happens to be on the spot takes part; no one would be excluded even if he came from a distant region. Sometimes families who are in the vicinity are notified, and they hasten there without delay.

765 312 If the people have quickly reached a decision in this simple and non-obligatory manner, they immediately begin the preparations. Actually, these involve nothing more than body painting which must be richer and more beautiful than for the inconspicuous tálegwaja. Everyone chooses a pattern according to his own taste and draws the stripes and dashes, rows of dots and lines in different colors and in various patterns of distribution on face, torso, and arms. Usually they develop the basic forms familiar to them from the tálegwaja, transforming them into richer and more elaborate combinations.

The desire for colorful variety and a rich diversity of forms cannot be curbed even in the painting for mourning. At each yamalaľemójna I saw patterns that ranged from very simple to complex; a few are reproduced in Figure 89. The man (a) displays only three vertical black lines. The woman (b) has her whole face uniformly smeared with red and has put vertical black lines over it. The man (c) also has black lines on a red background. The woman (d) has wide black lines drawn upon the red background, the former being outlined by broken white lines. The man (e) also displays a red background; on each half of the face he has five vertical lines and one such line on the bridge of his nose as well as between the inner corners of the eyes. Finally the woman (f) has five thin red lines radiating out from the lower eyelid; the rest of the painting, that is, the entire lower part of the face, is black. Other /1130/ no less elaborate patterns are shown in Figure 86 on page 799. All the patterns, however, are derived from a few basic forms.

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765 302 Almost all participants prefer the design which indicates the cause of death of the one who is especially mourned. Actually the visitors exert a good deal of effort and care to show how honestly and sincerely they are participating in the event. /Fig. 89 appears here./ Definite pressure is put upon those present when a murder has been committed; they express this in their facial painting, for everything serves the

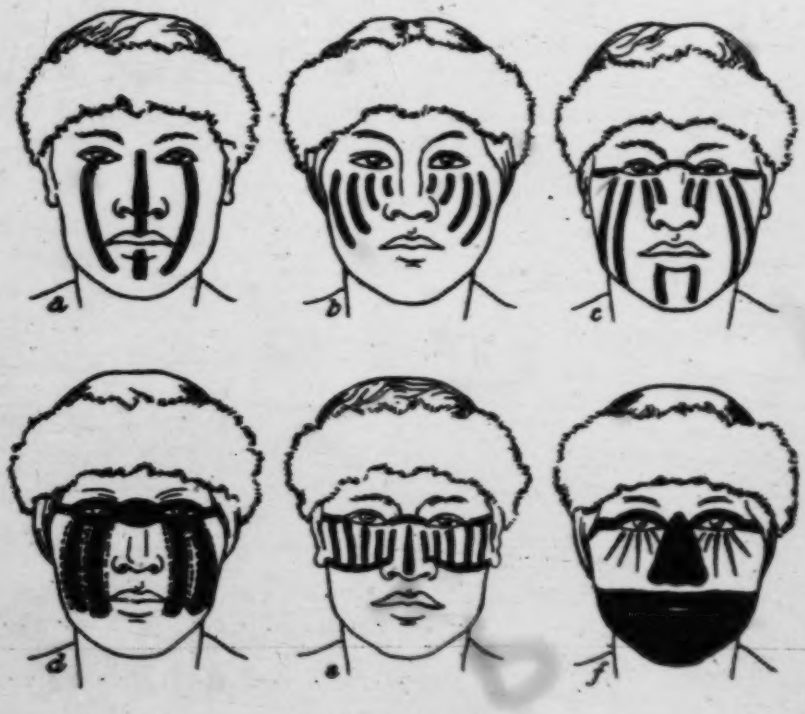

Fig. 89. Patterns of Painting for Mourning.

purpose of intimidating the culprit and his circle of kinsmen. In this case they prefer the following design: one side of the face is uniformly black; on the other side are alternating vertical rows of red and white dots placed close together.

765 301 825 The people are busy for some time in preparing their facial painting; they also wind the hapakēl around their foreheads. This decoration, also called hapaxēl, is a rather large triangular piece

765 301 [825]

/1130 cont./ of skin with white down-feathers taken from the male Molinas goose (Chloephaga hybrida /Kelp goose/). The people obtain this forehead decoration when these geese are nesting; during this time /1131/ they are lean and the thin skin does not have the abundant fat that is present at other times. /Fig. 90 appears here./ A hapakēl is like the kŏčel of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 215) in size and shape. In recent times not all the adults make an effort to obtain this ornament which is actually seldom used. Instead, at a general funeral ceremony, they use the narrow band of skin with down, also called hapaxēl, which they always have available and frequently use.

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The club is part of the equipment of those who take part in the so-called fight of the yamalašemŏina. It is justifiably regarded as an ornamental club. No one would be permitted to come with a plain stick that he has just picked up or one used to kill a sea lion. This club is used for no other purpose. It is carefully carved out of a flawless small trunk, is about 160 to 190 centimeters long, has an angular or rounded surface and gently tapers from one end to the other (Fig. 90). It is regularly painted white, or red if one is commemorating a murder. Actually the women should also provide themselves with a club, but sometimes they do not have it and make do with an ordinary paddle which they paint. At the dances in the hut everyone uses the short dance-staff carried during the čiēxaus ceremony, for it obviously helps to emphasize the rhythmic movements of the body.

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The long-continued singing and lamenting, sighing, and groaning are

Fig. 90. Ornamental Club.

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765 533 152 essential to the yamalaśemōjna in connection with the lōima. The actual mourners spend their time this way in any case. Whenever neighbors and friends enter the hut with their freshly applied painting, they sit down near these mourners and follow their song. The polyphonic group sings in a medley of voices; each one chooses pitch and rhythm, melody, and tone color as he sees fit; he stops and begins anew as it pleases him. Each person's performance, however, is serious and sad, his facial expression shows great mental anguish, and his whole conduct indicates how much he is suffering. Throughout, everyone in a howling voice constantly repeats the same sounds in a monotonous melody, exactly as at the tālauwaja. The whole company devotes several hours to this collective demonstration of grief; they do not allow even brief general pauses.

765 781 152 Each person present occasionally interrupts his groaning and fills in an interval or two with exclamations. These are chiefly words addressed to the Supreme Being. One must remember that on these occasions everyone does not think merely of the recently deceased person -- who perhaps is even of secondary importance to him -- but of those loved ones whom he himself /1132/ lost through a recent death or an earlier one. The memory of them once more stirs him to the depths and makes him sharply feel anew his great loss. His own sorrow tortures him. That is why once again, as on earlier occasions, he confronts Watauinējwa to argue and remonstrate with him, to accuse him and cast aspersion upon him. He angrily hurls heavenward one after another of the ancient cries of lament, although he is well aware of his helplessness against Abāila up there behind the clouds. His immeasurable pain, so he believes, gives him the right to the ruthless, coarse invectives against that brutal Wēlapatux who can be approached in no other way. These excited conversations with Watauinējwa, as I was emphatically assured, form an important part of the yamalaśemōjna. "Again and again each person must address 'the One-up-there' and must constantly repeat the old sayings!" I was told this several times with emphatic conviction. Thus I had the impression that the individual words were nothing more than a normal outcry and a quarrelsome discussion with the Supreme Being. Through all kinds of adaptations

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765 781 152 the expression may be used with reference to the recently deceased person, to the speaker himself, to his own deceased relatives and friends, to the Yamana people as a whole. With angry vehemence Gertie repeatedly impressed upon me: "Each one of us must incessantly and emphatically come to terms with Watauinéiwa on this occasion!" Thus reproaches and words of abuse continually alternated with the old cries of lament. Everyone present regarded this as justifiable for every speaker and approvingly confirmed his words.

Until that time I had never had on opportunity to observe how vehemently the expression of their deeply rooted faith in their god breaks out from the depths of their soul, and with what unrestrained force it seeks expression. Truly their religious faith is firmly anchored in their convictions and in their hearts! Here it became plain that all the adults are dominated by it. I shall now mention a touching feature of their childlike religious sense. In their greatest agitation they feel justified in freely hurling the bitterest reproaches against Watauinéiwa. After the yamalaŝemóina is over, however, and everyone has again sought the quiet of his own hut and by late evening has regained his mental balance, he feels deep within himself something like qualms of conscience. He is overcome with the feeling that he has offended the Supreme Being with his raging and scolding and that he has erred greatly with respect to the veneration due the deity. Ruefully he humbles himself, silently he thinks about the events of the day and his momentary position. A repentant and yet confident prayer of atonement softly slips from his trembling lips: "Hidáĥuan, you know it, today I was extremely angry with you! But the sorrow for my beloved dead was so violent that I lost control of myself. Don't be angry with me any longer, /1133/ Hidáĥuan!" Solaced and with his soul fully at ease, the Fuegian lies down to sleep; the supreme emotion which for hours shook his innermost being is past.

765 152 I shall add here a few words which I noted during the yamalaŝemóina. Often several persons were saying different things at the same time and I could not follow them.

Santiago: "This morning that woman died. Each of us is in a wretched state, no one feels well. I once suffered the same fate as that widower who now has no wife. I personally felt what

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it is like to lose one's relatives. One loses all desire to live!"

Halupem: "It is certainly just as you [Santiago] say; everyone who loses the person dearest to him feels [the sorrow] most acutely. The others feel it less, they are only accompanying that person! -- We must strive to understand each other well so that we shall not wrong one another. For one day Watagine'wa will take us too [from the earth]. If we have lived in discord with someone and he dies, we will be sorry [for the way we behaved]. So let us live on the best terms with one another! After a quarrel everyone must quickly become reconciled with the other and make his peace with him."

Walter: "I, too, am thinking of the many whom I have lost. Today I feel somewhat relieved [at the thought] that it is not I who have lost his relative. But at the time when I lost my own children I was unutterably sad. Others probably thought it is not such a painful thing, but I spent whole days and nights in the forest and suffered terribly. -- How often Watagine'wa has punished me! I wonder why he did it? Now we [I and my wife] have only two children left. It is possible that he will soon take another child from me. Why will that happen? I wonder if he will again punish me soon? I do not know. -- At that time I was really unutterably sad, more than other people can believe. Again and again that happened to me (68). Here on this occasion

68. He is referring to his sad fate that nine of his eleven children have died.

all who belong to the family of the deceased will properly understand how much I suffered at that time. In the same way I now understand what those relatives of the deceased woman are suffering and why they so loudly lament."

Mary: "I have little peace now, for during the time when we must again bury one of our people we come straight out with everything that our heart dictates."

Clara: "When I was still a girl, we did not conduct ourselves the way girls do nowadays. We did not leave our parents, but faithfully remained with them in the hut. But today girls often look to [the behavior of] the Whites; they have discovered

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many things among them which they imitate. That is why they even run /1134/ away from their own parents; they do not give other countrymen any peace [because of their offensive behavior] and cause ther own parents the greatest embarrassment. It is shameful for us, it is a disgrace for us (69)!"

69. She recalls that recently three girls left the camp alone in the late afternoon without their parents' knowledge. Cf. p.488 .

Santiago: "I did you [Halupens] no harm."

Halupens: "That is correct, and I did not want to reproach you for anything."

Santiago: "Good, then we agree."

Halupens: "If it weren't for the Whites [who prevent us], we would havedeclared war on those people and killed them. But this way [the way things are today] we do not dare."

Santiago: "Truly, that is the real reason. At present our hands are tied [as far as free action is concerned]" (70).

70. Santiago is referring to a murder which Halupens' brother committed in his day.

Luisa: "Whenever we were in mourning in the old days, we caught many animals and killed them, tore them all to pieces or crushed them, and then strewed all the pieces on the ground or threw them in the water. We did that because we were angry with Watagineiwa, for we wanted to cause him great harm. My parents-in-law were very prominent in that."

Halupens: "I had no idea that today I would be in deep mourning. Watagineiwa has caused it. I, personally, have, after all, done no one any harm; I did not kill anyone. I did, of course, kill a few birds and sea lions to keep me from hunger and to stay alive. But I never killed a human being. Therefore Watagineiwa has no reason whatever to hurt me so badly that today I am in mourning because he let that woman die. I did nothing except hunt a few of his animals which he made in Yolaia. I consumed them because I was hungry!"

/1134 cont./

765 152 Santiago: "Today Wataŭinẽ́ĵwa has brought great harm to us all. We are all without exception in deep mourning. It would have been better if today Wataŭinẽ́ĵwa had allowed a whale to be stranded. Then we would have gone there tomorrow and would have cut off large pieces for ourselves. Instead he has let that woman die and the widower is now mourning bitterly!"

Evidently all the participants at this yamalaĭemṍina often repeated the prayer formulas and lamentations listed above (p. 989), although most of them understand only the general drift and the basic meaning. I was present while the corpse was being wrapped, and old Asikamis happened to pass the hut. He stopped for a few moments and, pointing to the dead woman, murmured to himself: "Wataŭinẽ́ĵwa has caused that, yes 'the one-up-there' has done this!" Then he continued on his way. Similar expressions were repeated by all those present.

765 769 152 It must be pointed out that although this general funeral rite is stimulated by a recent death and occasioned chiefly by it, /1135/ nevertheless every participant remembers all the dead whom he personally mourns. He speaks of them loudly and openly, always without mentioning their names, distinguishing them as "my father," "my daughter," and so forth. He mentions details of their lives, certain traits of character, and the cause of death. In this way he thoroughly relieves his tortured soul of the misery of oppressive thoughts about his dead.

765 152 *The gathering of many mourners, which lasts for hours, is* regularly terminated with a sort of mock battle. All during the yamalaĭemṍina one or another of the old men informally and yet decisively exerts his influence, like a kind of tĭámuna. They are above all anxious to direct the attention of the participants to Wataŭinẽ́ĵwa, and they characterize him as the one who remains responsible for the death of this and every other person. They are familiar with the traditional prayer formulas and laments and often repeat them. In this way they also impress them upon the memory of the younger people who learn their meaning. The old people, however, never explain the meaning of the words in detail; the formulas simply issue from a grief-filled soul and are neither mentioned nor discussed in everyday life. As soon as the old people feel that the favorable moment has arrived, they call

/1135 cont./

765 152 for the mock combat. The participants get up, reach for their clubs or paddles, and leave the hut. Sobbing and weeping loudly, they arrange themselves in two groups in an open place outside in no particular order. If the yamalaʃemõjna commemorates a recent murder, however, a more definite division is made, and the party of the victim and that of the murderer face each other. Each of the adults is equipped with a club; women who lack a club use their paddles (p. 1084). These objects have previously been painted.

While the two groups are slowly approaching each other, they sob loudly and speak of the deceased for whom the ceremony is being held. They mention his good characteristics and qualities in words of warm appreciation and sincere grief. These utterances cease as soon as the two groups meet. The mock battle immediately begins, with an individual from one side rushing at anyone in the other group and attacking him. The two large groups thus split up into many fighting pairs. Each pair continues to duel for some time. They do not intend to injure one another; hence a blow is checked before it falls. Nevertheless one person or another may receive quite a blow if a pair becomes excited or if two opponents who have many a former account to settle should happen to meet.

765 152 578 /1136/ A more important feature of this sham battle is the utterance of mutual reproaches, making the other person responsible for the death, as though he were to blame for the grief which depresses all the people. A person who is met with reproaches of this kind from his opponent defends himself just as vehemently and heaps the accusations back on the other. If one says, "You caused that one to die, it is your fault that we are all sad now!" then the other replies, "Quite the contrary, you are to blame for everything!" Or one will maintain, "Why didn't you pay more attention to that one [who has just died] and help him?" Whereupon his opponent will defend himself, "You're the one who should have helped him, then he would not have been taken from us!" Another will shout, "You did not give that one any of your booty and that is why he starved!" The retort is: "I always gave him plenty of our booty. If you had done the same he would have been spared us!" Elsewhere one hears: "Why did you not

/1136 cont./

765 152 578 come to his aid with your canoe when he was drowning?" The opponent replies: "I was much farther away from him than you, I was on the Wollaston Islands. It was far easier for you to help him because you were near him." Alluding to the murder, one man says: "How could you be so carefree! You should have known that this murderer had murderous intentions!" The answer: "You are guiltier. For if you had an inkling of it it was up to you to inform everybody and that one [the murdered one] would have been spared!" The verbal exchange continues for a long time. It often leads to attacks on personal conduct, to reminders of former quarrels and differences of opinion. Many become excited, and the combatants seriously attack each other. For some of them this opportunity is very welcome because a long-suppressed desire for revenge can be gratified without punishment. There is great confusion during the battle and sometimes a certain amount of brutality, depending on how much tempers are aroused, for the opponents facing each other change about several times, or three or four persons will pounce upon a single one who is then in a serious predicament. After about an hour the combat is declared over when a few influential old people return to the assembly hut. The rest of the people follow.

765 533 535 Inside, the customary song of mourning is resumed and continues for a time, its duration depending on the hour of the day and the state of mind of those present. One person or another will get up and dance through the hut, following the simple rhythm of the song with his body movements and the gentle swing of the short dance-staff. Finally the yamalalemona is concluded, following the clear, definite signal by one of the leading old people that all the participants should lay down their clubs, paddles, and dance staffs with an audible tap on the ground. While the singing was going on, /1137/ all the people were holding these things in their hands. After that each one spends long minutes in thoughtful concentration, and only then does he silently creep out. He goes to his dwelling and quietly resumes his ordinary tasks.

765 This affair regularly lasts eight hours and longer. Only the adults take part. In order to prevent any disturbance or distraction by their own or by strange children, none of the children

/1137 cont./

765 may leave the dwellings, make a noise, or play.

If a yamalaśemõina is to be held anywhere or if it has already been held, the news about it spreads over a wide area. Everyone wants to participate in it. Occasionally a few families are late in joining the mourners. The latter, of course, are always in the mood for this ceremony and, stimulated by them, the new arrivals actually initiate it without delay. If a universally beloved and influential person is being mourned, one yamalaśemõina follows another at short intervals, perhaps throughout the whole year. There is probably never a cíkuna celebration that does not have a regular yamalaśemõina on a particular day; the same is true of a lengthy kina festival. The participants, however, then remain in the large assembly but and the customary sham battle is kept within limits.

765 628 The law of blood vengeance (p.898) is in force among our Fuegians and imposes an obligation upon the relatives and friends of the murdered person. They band together and attack the murderer along with his followers. The combat between these two groups is called yamalaśemõina yíkuna mãja and is obligatory after a murder. It is not impossible, although there is no definite proof, that the customary sham battle which has long been held after every ordinary death or in memory of all the dead at the public yamalaśemõina is derived from that first struggle after a murder, and that, in the course of time, this has become part of every general ceremony of mourning. The characteristics of the sham battle, especially the reproaches and accusations of the opposing pair, lead one to this assumption.

765 624 The general mourning ceremony always unites several families, and since it occurs often, an individual family takes part in it at least three times a year. Its extraordinary subjective value is obvious. Each yamalaśemõina irresistibly forces the individual to deep inner self-reflection and gravely reminds him of death. All those persons who have already concluded their life on earth come alive once more in his memory; their virtues and shortcomings are discussed and the transgression to which an untimely death is attributed is quite frankly noted. All this causes the individual conscience to be stirred to the depths with self-accusations. Furthermore, it is no less effective that the conduct of the individual is loudly censured during the combat by one or

/1137 cont./

another opponent who is permitted the opportunity for /1138/ ruthlessly setting forth his accusations. No one may take offense at being publicly accused. All kinds of things are disclosed in this way and reach the ears of the pubic: events long past; the quarrels and misdeeds of a murderer and all the members of his family are lengthily and inconsiderately dragged out into the open; the cruel behavior of a husband toward his deceased wife is loudly held up to him and his relatives for the hundredth time; the proved or suspected extra-marital relations of a dissolute woman are thrown in her face without the least restraint. Everyone who feels dislike for another or who has quarreled with him singles him out during the sham battle and gives him a piece of his mind. Disagreements between whole groups of families are also revealed and characterized in detail. As one can see, the loud reproaches of the sham battle are acts of undisguised and public conscience-seaching of the other party by one who is far from offering palliation! The vivid warning which comes from the near and impending death also shakes up every participant and impels him anew to lead a blameless, orderly life, to make an effort to get along with others and to be on the best of terms with the members of his family, to be helpful to everyone, and in general to cultivate the virtues of a true, proper Yamana. Thus personal conduct and public order are inestimably improved by each yamalalemona. It is probably with the help of this institution that the general morality of the Yamana has been kept on a surprisingly consistent high level. Even though the motive which impels many a person to censure his opponent publicly may be neither noble nor fine, at any rate the outspoken accusation is not without effect.

The Yamana will not and cannot give up their general ceremonies of mourning as long as they persist in their ancient vague conception of the life of the human soul after death. The separation from each person who is snatched away by death is for them an everlasting farewell. Stelly Lawrence often and definitely assured me in so many words: "The missionaries constantly urged us to give up the long and disturbing gatherings after the death of one of our people. They advised us: 'Don't weep so much, for we shall all see one another again after death!' But

/1304 cont./

825 [188] uttering a loud, hissing s sound. The purpose of the latter is to weaken the baleful effect of the sea duck and hold in the kespix of the children. Immediately after confinement the mother and [262] her husband may not eat the meat of the deska (p. 503). The parents are advised to abstain from it until their child enters the second year of life. From then on it is completely out of danger, whereas before that it might possibly die if its parents should often eat the meat of the sea duck.

When the rust-colored spectacled ibis, lexuwa (Theristicus melanopis), flies over the heads of mature girls, they cross their arms and press them against their breasts to hide them. If they [826] did not do this, lexuwa would pull their breasts far down; this is a beauty flaw of which they complain a great deal. This lexuwa is also known as a sensitive woman who anxiously guards her honor.

I did not learn that the Yamana are superstitiously afraid of any kind of insects, but Bridges (a):212 writes: "Many insects are also much dreaded, from a belief that they enter the ear, and work their way into the body, and thus kill those they enter" /cited in English/. Dabbene (b):204 says the same thing. Unfortunately, these references are too general.

Sometimes an unusually large cap-shaped shell (Fissurella) clings to a rock along the coast, below the lowest water level. It is regarded as the mistress of that region. All the women who are gathering marine animals in its vicinity must remain silent and respectful. If they do not do this, the pijiakakipa, as it is [823] called, causes strong eddies. The word pijiaka is not a proper name, but a general term (compare BD:370); here it has its special meaning. The little hole in the flat shell is "the eye with which pijiakakipa sees everything that happens around it."

825 765 If a father has lost a son in death, he abandons the male animals that he kills or he throws them into the water. If a daughter has died, he does not touch the female animals that he catches. He does this for several weeks after the death of his child to express his grief over the loss and to avenge himself, as it were, on Watauinejwa.

/1374 cont./
X575 776 825 gull kiwăgu (Larus dominicanus); BD:413, tākaĭaiaka, the performance of the loud tákaŭa (Larus belcheri /a gull/); BD:112, ušǫ̆ǫ̆laiaka, the performance of the whale ašǫ̆ǫ̆la (Pseudorca crassidens); finally, BD:262, haiyaiga, BD:277, lamŭkaiaka, the performance of the whale, BD:276; laiakākīpa, and BD:247, gŏtanna, or "tānŭwa's son, one of opening scenes and characters in the keena drama" /cited in English/. BD also mentions a few more performances. In any case, see the explanations of kŭpi in BD:212.

X575 ●765 In conclusion the so-called kína-tálaywāĭa, the death rite, should be specifically mentioned. Now and then it happens that in the course of this men's festival one of the participants or one of their relatives dies. Then one evening the participants assembled in the Great Hut put on an actual tálaywāĭa for only themselves. The men adorn themselves with the body painting customary for this occasion (p. 1081), depending on the degree of their relationship to the deceased. This is not enough, however. An influential yĕkamuĭ appoints a man, preferably the leader, to paint himself in a special way. In March, 1922, Maĭemikens, who was then the leader of the Kina, volunteered to do this himself. The entire body is painted white and over this are painted four black stripes the width of a hand, beginning in the center of each collar bone and in each armpit and extending to the knee. These stripes, but narrower, are continued on the white mask up to its point. The performer dances out of the Great Hut just like any one of the many other "spirits" and moves back and forth several times on the dance course. The people in the camp immediately recognize him /1375/ by his painting. On the evening of a tálaywāĭa the men remain very quiet and appear to be sad out of sincere sympathy. The Yamana have no proper name for the spirit portrayed in this manner. It would not be correct to call him the kĕ́pix of the deceased person who is being mourned; the whole performance is meant to be reminiscent of his departure and of the sorrowful participation of the survivors.

[312]

X575 776 825 312 The Yamana emphatically assured me that there is no portrayal in the Kina of the spirits of those animals that were already living here as actual animals at the time of the great upheaval.

1: Gusinde--1455 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

525
302
292

Kina Spirit

Kina Spirit

Kina-talauwáia

142
302
765
301

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

1: Gustede--1456 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SHS Yahgan SHS

142
362
365
301

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

1: Gonindo--1457 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 Sitt Yahgan Sit6

137

Antarctic Beeches

Mourning Painting

Men Painting Themselves

Mourning Painting

133

Northeast of Beagle Channel

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

coals witnessed by Rev. Thomas Bridges (1893, p. 238) may have been part of this training.

Graduation from the shaman school did not insure a successful professional career, for only by repeated proofs of power could the individual's reputation be established. It seems that there was much competition among the medicine-men, and several early observers note a tendency of almost all the older people to work cures, to prophesy, etc.

In fig. 94 is illustrated the guanaco-hide bag in which the shaman carried his impedimenta. The contents were diadems of heron-plumes and of kelp-goose down, and white paint. To these doubtless should be added a number of small hard objects to be shown to the sick as the cause of their pain.

FIG. 94.—Yahgan shaman's bag. Diameter, 11 in. (16/2187)

DEATH

When death took place the corpse was wrapped in old seal-skins and buried outside of the house within twenty-four hours. If the ground were frozen, the corpse might be covered with stones and shrubs to keep off dogs and foxes, or it might be buried in a cave or on a small island. Hyades (1891, p. 379) says that when death occurred far from home the body was carried into the woods and cremated. This was done that the bones might not fall into the hands of enemies and be made into harpoon-points.

For mourning the family of the defunct covered themselves with

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

black paint and indulged in formal ululation. They summoned their friends and relatives to the death-dance known as *yamalasho-mona*, which might be repeated at intervals for several months. For it the men and women donned the white kelp-goose headband; the men supplied themselves with clubs of unusual length (fig. 95),

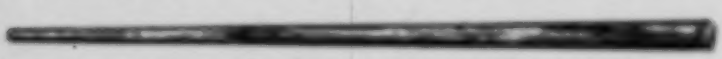

FIG. 95.—Yahgan ceremonial club. Length, 5 ft. (14/2261)

and the women carried paddles. As with many primitive tribes, the Yahgan believed death due to some positive and active force, visible or invisible. Hence the mourning ceremony carried the threat of revenge and assumed the character of a sham battle.

It has been both asserted and denied that the Yahgan believed in the immortality of the soul. Testimony on this point secured in recent years from mission-reared Indians might not be considered conclusive, but mythological tales clearly indicate belief in survival. As among the Ona, only unusually powerful and bold spirits, such as those of shamans, were able to maintain contact with the visible world.

MYTHOLOGY

The Yahgan possessed the usual collection of myths found among primitive peoples, but these are exceedingly simple in character and lacking in humor or subtlety. The most extensive study of the mythology of this tribe was conducted by Gusinde and Koppers, and has been published only in outline. Bartlett, Thomas Bridges, Cojazzi, and Martial also have contributed mythological material of importance, while a few scattered tales occur in the works of other writers. It has seemed worth while to summarize these published sources because they often are difficult to obtain and have appeared in five different languages. We have followed the classification of Koppers (1924).

EXPLANATORY MYTHS

There are a large number of tales which explain the various phenomena of nature such as the slow approach of dawn, the shape of the rainbow, the spots on the moon, the lava tops of the mountains, etc. Such tales often form incidents in the more complex myth cycles we shall discuss.